1. Children and grandchildren of mother's brother's son and daughter (cousins, cousin)
2. Children and grandchildren of mother's sister's son and daughter (cousins, cousins)

3 Fourth Ascription, may marry any person in groups 1 and 2 provided they are not in the line.

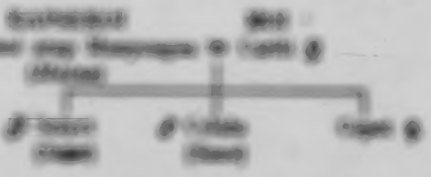
The children of the father's brother and father's sister are taboo and come to Fourth, and their children are taboo and also, whereas to Cousins of our native country. The marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed to Fourth, where there is an interaction of the with-spoken marriage within the tribe. But, on the other hand, the Fourth has a certain number of people who are biologically allowed to this though are classed as relatives, and therefore prevented since. The Fourth and that there are many as cross for the third ascending generation, as a man cannot have, but it is desirable for example of them, the same date (male) and wife (this) per land, whereas the corresponding females cross per member and marriage.

III. The Family and Relatives

1. Family life

Family life and social structure are based on the elementary family within the tribe, the family living a unit consisting of father, mother, and children. The elementary family is sometimes enlarged into the domestic family, which is a group of people based on an elementary family living in one homestead and cultivating more than one garden. In an elementary family with one or both of the husband's parents. A further development is the extended patrilocal family, where two or more elementary families attached by genealogy or adoption live together on a defined area.

A typical elementary family living in the town is formed when the following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children[1]:



A domestic family living on the edge of the town of Tshaya comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children.

[1] In the genealogical diagrams, circle or symbol indicates male, and square or rectangle denotes female.

who stands to the relative of father's brother to the youngest members of the group as to the daughter of Ego's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a few groups there might be an father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be at all, for the tendency is to settle in different groups, and not believed to the same extent as among the Yuendi, where a family may live alone without having part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. The point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a person's life that the mother's brother does among the Yuendi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I once came on man where both were alive together). These families give the Ilanda child his first experiences of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under these conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Yuendi, for instance, the father is not, under conditions of ordinary life day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he has dependants, and there is no doubt that a Yuendi child of tender years see much less of his father than a Ilanda child. When food must be got or it is wanted, and when it is scarce or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose crops are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father learns to leave it alone when it is with its mother. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother, failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Ilanda mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings, nor can she, like the agriculturalists, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit permits ecstasy, and even when a woman goes to work in her shamba* the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-getting is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home. The shamba, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of barter

* My Swahili word shamba = cultivated land, field, farm, a convenient word to have. There is no a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent. I shall use it in the sense of a piece of cultivated land.

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The economic unit in the family, of whatever kind, elementary or domestic, living alone or within a group. The unit formed of a man, his wife, and their children can actually provide itself, under normal conditions, with most of the necessary subsistence, with a certain amount of help from those to whom they are entitled to turn for it. The first necessity is of course food. This is of two kinds, meat and vegetable, and the second sort is now both wild and cultivated, though formerly the Dorobo ate but little in the way of cereals; restrictions on hunting have now forced them to do so. In the old days meat and honey were the principal foods, vegetables being eaten as a relish. The foods now eaten may be classed under the following heads in order of (relative) importance:

1. Meat: got by hunting and trapping.
2. Honey: from their honey-barrels.
3. Wild plants: collected.
4. Salt: made or bought.
5. Drink: made from honey.
6. Cereals: *eleusine* and maize, grown; maize, bought.
7. Milk: for those who have cows.

Almost any kind of meat, except that of scavengers like jackal, hyaena, mongoose, etc., was and still is eaten, including antelope, monkeys, and bigger game. Of antelope they eat the following:

*Ngamuyoni**, the common duiker (*sylvicapra Grimmi*).
Kipeshani, the blue duiker (*C. monticola*).
Mirabi, the red duiker (*C. ignotus*).
Kurumeti, the bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*).
Imbaiti, the roanbuck (*Cervicapra arundinum*).
Kongoni, the gnu (*Gorgon taurinus*).
Kipeneuni, the waterbuck (*Cobus ellipsiprymnus*).

Of monkeys they eat:

Sarati, the colobus (*Colobus guereza*).
Tiriti, hybrid monkey (*Cercopithecus albogularis*).
Tumati, grey monkey (*C. griseo-viridis*).
Kwenkwi, the baboon (*Papio cynocephalus*).

And of other animals they eat:

Tumati, the wild pig or wart-hog (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*).
Tumata, the giant pig (*Hylochoerus Meinertzhageni*).
Ilchilili, the leopard.
Imeiti, the lion.
Inoti, the buffalo.
Tembi, the elephant.

There are, however, no elephant in the Dorobo country to-day, nor have there been within living Dorobo memory; but buffalo still occur in the

455 the absence of pastoral and agricultural industries and technology, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

			Part :	—	Part :	—	Total :
Family	Men :	Trapping game in the forest					
		Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.			Cultivation of shambas		
		Some : working for wages					
	Women :	Preparing the results of trapping					Bush
		Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.			Cultivation of shambas		
		Housework and food collecting					
	Children :	Minding					
		Housework					
Men Living Alone :		Trapping					
		Making things					
		Preparing the results of trapping			Cultivation of shambas		Bush
		Cooking, housework					

Dembo life Consists exclusively on cultivation, with a hunting background and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dembo (in 1939 at least) had a pastoral economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

3. Economic Activities

a) Beekeeping

Honey is to the Dembo what milk is to the Nandi. It is much-sought and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Anya Minio said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

[P 191.6]